

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

On the Manpower Channelers

Peter Henig
Ann Arbor REP

Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations are from the *Selective Service Orientation Kit* available from SSS National Headquarters.

In the past twenty-seven years of war or preparation for war the American people have become accustomed to a variety of government measures which identify and regulate the use of commodities for which there exist competing claims in the national economy. For example, under Title of the Defense Production Act of 1950, the President of the United States is authorized to establish a set of priorities for programs that are vital to the national defense and to allocate materials and facilities to insure that the priorities are realized. The body of regulations, orders, and procedures by which this is done comprise the Defense Materials System (DMS), administered by the Business and Defense Services Administration of the Department of Commerce in cooperation with the Departments of Agriculture and Interior, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the business community at large. The purpose of DMS, as described by the Department of Defense, is to:

(1) provide a "means of directing the flow of materials and products to the production, construction, and research and development requirements of the nation's defense programs. DMS helps to insure that these defense programs are maintained on schedule by providing a priority for the purchase of materials by defense contractors, sub-contractors and their suppliers;"

(2) permit "The maintenance of an administrative means of promptly mobilizing the industrial resources of the country in a limited or general war." (A. A. Bertsch, "The Defense Materials System and Priorities," *Defense Industry Bulletin*, Dept. of Defense, November, 1966)

In other words DMS is a way of dividing finite material resources among the industrial sectors represented by the military, military support, and the non-military sectors considered to be important. The system is designed so that mandatory regulation can be tightened or relaxed to accommodate different readings of what is in "the national interest" at any given time. When a strong directive touch is deemed essential, the system can be extended until it resembles the Controlled Materials Plan (CMP) of World War II. CMP designated specific materials to contractors and suppliers through their government clients which were, for this purpose, designated "claimant agencies."

MEN OR MEAT

Perhaps because it is contrary to human nature to think of ourselves as raw materials, critics of the Selective Service System have overlooked the salient feature of SSS, -- which supervises the procurement of soldiers for labor in the military sector of the economy -- like DMS in the field of raw materials, it is the job of the SSS to mold and allocate the nation's finite "manpower resources" among the warfare, warfare-support, and non-warfare sectors of our economic life in conformity with priorities established through the cooperative efforts of government and business. Like DMS, the SSS is designed so that the degree of regulation of the "manpower flow" can be varied according to need. An excellent description of the ultimate regulatory capabilities designed into SSS is provided by the System itself:

"The System must be ready to effect the registration of all persons now or hereafter required by the Congress to be registered. It must collect and maintain such individual records as will enable the System to identify, find, classify, select and deliver or make available persons of any class, type, skill, aptitude, profession, degree of physical fitness, or other category, registered or unregistered, for service in the Armed Forces or for any other type of service for which there is a need in the national interest. For the military, procurement will be direct by the process of selection and induction into the Armed Forces. For non-military use, the method will be by the indirect process of deferment as is now or later may be authorized by law; or by designation of the individual to the claimant user."

The Selective Service System points out every opportunity that the procurement of soldiers is only one aspect of its overall task:

"Delivery of manpower for induction," it declares, "the process of providing a few thousand men with transportation to a reception center, is not much of an administrative or financial challenge. It is in dealing with the other millions of registrants that the System is heavily occupied, developing more effective human beings in the national interest."

According to its Oct. 3, 1966 Report of Availability and Summary of Classification, SSS was keeping track of a little over 33 million living registrants. Of these, about two million had been motivated to enlist and are serving in the armed forces. About 5000 thousand are serving after having been inducted. Approximately 4 and one half million are over the age of liability for military service. The re-

(Continued on page 4)

PSYCHEDELIC WARFARE: U-CONN TO DEVELOP LSD FOR THE ARMY

"Research into the synthetic production of LSD and other psychedelic drugs is underway in the UConn (The University of Connecticut) department of pharmacy for the U.S. Department of Defense, Dr. Marvin Malone said yesterday to a group of UConn students at the Student Union.

"Dr. Malone, associate professor of pharmacology at UConn said that UConn has been commissioned by the Defense Department to research LSD production techniques concurrent with the experiments presently being conducted on U.S. troops to determine the effects of psychedelic drugs in chemical warfare."

---The CONNECTICUT DAILY CAMPUS, 7 Nov. 1966



new left notes

1608 w. madison, rm. 206

chicago, ill. 60612

VOL. 2, NO. 3 let the people decide JANUARY 20, 1967

M-CUP

Minneapolis Project Needs Staff

Doug Elliott,
Minneapolis Community
Union Project

January 9, The Minneapolis Community Union Project is looking for people to join the staff. In spite of the national, and SDS, hangup on the war and how to end it, the ERAP projects still remain the only tangible beginnings for revolutionary change. If you believe this, don't join VISTA or some other outfit that will co-opt your efforts, come to work for M-CUP.

The Minneapolis project presently has three full-time people with a possible fourth person soon. The staff lives independently in apartments in the area and is self-supporting. This means part-time jobs or occasional work for most of the staff. At the moment, a substantial amount of the funds for the project come from staff people also -- this will hopefully change as contributions increase.

M-CUP is organizing on the near southside of Minneapolis in an area populated by poor Negroes, Indians, and whites. This is a poor neighborhood with all of the familiar characteristics: slum housing, high unemployment, wretched schools, many people on welfare, etc.

While the project is new and small, the staff has been successful in organizing around both welfare and housing grievances; that is, handling individual problems, building groups of neighborhood people involved in working for both long-term change and settlement of immediate grievances. A fairly strong and increasingly radical group of welfare recipients meets regularly and recently conducted a picket of the Welfare Department. This picket was in addition to "backing up" other recipients who have problems with welfare to see that the grievance is settled.

Other issues for possible organizing, such as police conduct, cannot be handled now because of lack of staff (and money, of course). The need is for people, not necessarily with experience, but people willing to spend a minimum of six months here. For someone with no experience, it seems to take about three months to learn to be effective.

To get more information, or to apply, write M-CUP, 1119 E. Franklin, Minneapolis, Minn. 55404. Application does not mean acceptance, so be prepared to discuss and defend your ideas about organizing, social change, etc. Since it is difficult to make decisions and get to know somebody through the mail, people interested in working here should also plan to visit the project before making any commitment or definite plans.

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BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION

Eichmann and Everyman: the Moral Challenge of Vietnam

(Excerpts from *Foundation Bulletin*; Vol. 1, No. 3.)

342 West 84th Street
New York, New York 10024

by Ralph Schoenman

"He who witnesses a crime in silence, commits it," wrote Jose Marti, the Cuban revolutionary leader in the struggle against Spain. "We," said Eichmann, "only provided the lorries." These two men, both in their lives and in their words, man the barricades of a moral divide. It does not matter whose is the authority or the State power concerned. The authors of particular injustice or the identity of those hypnotised and helpless before horror do not affect the issue: there are not two sides in this matter. There is only one. There is no neutrality or "non-alignment" between Marti and Eichmann, there are only those who move from passivity, in the face of horror, to resistance, and those who shrink from resistance, no matter what camouflage they contrive to disguise this from themselves and from the world...

The United States controls sixty percent of the world's resources, while containing only six percent of the world's population. The United States maintains over 3,600 military bases to protect this empire against the revolution sweeping the victims of American capitalism. That capitalism transmuted now into an imperialist system is prepared to use any means to crush those who rise up on behalf of decency and the most elementary necessities of life. I believe the most telling and serious help to be provided the people of Vietnam is to open as many fronts against American imperialism as possible. Wherever conditions favor struggle, struggle should be undertaken, and assisted by those who are in a position to do so. Whether in Peru or Thailand; whether in Southern Africa or in Western Europe, struggle against American imperialism is the most concrete and serious form of solidarity possible. The Vietnamese are carrying the whole burden for the cause of oppressed peoples in the world. A real revolutionary international would waste no time in opening up new fronts. The true resistance in the spirit of Marti would lose no time in blowing up the

pipelines in Iraq or the locks of the Panama Canal, or whatever strategic installation of American imperialism afforded itself as a target to those conscious of their duty to the Vietnamese and to the victims of oppression everywhere...

The international War Crimes Tribunal has been proposed by Bertrand Russell and is under full and urgent preparation. This Tribunal commands no State power and cannot compel the accused to give evidence or to submit to the findings of its international War Crimes Tribunal is to play the historical role available to it, it will serve in a true sense as a revolutionary Tribunal of justice, voicing the powerless but morally strong feelings and convictions of those who know what oppression is in the world. I believe that this War Crimes Tribunal can set new standards, departing from the tired precedents of Nuremberg and other attempts at legal precepts which, in reality, conform to the *real-politik* of the State powers providing them.

The war in Vietnam -- that incredible war of aggression -- has historical and sociological roots which must be dug out, examined and put on display. The Tribunal's authority will derive from the eminence of their procedures and the thoroughness with which they prepare and present the full evidence of what the United States has done to the people of Vietnam. All mass organizations who claim they are in solidarity with the people of Vietnam, who profess to value the absence of war and a peace worthy of the name, will be tested by their response to this Tribunal. I believe that the truth about Vietnam, when assessed by a body of eminent and qualified people and exhaustively set out, will afford all engaged in serious struggle with basic tools for the task before us. The Vietnamese revolution is a cry from the depths. It appeals to us to see in it our own future, and it warns us of our own fate if we fail.

(reprinted from *Foundation Bulletin*; Vol. 1, No. 3.)

Russell Stetler

It has now been widely reported that the morale in Hanoi is high and that the bombardment has only steeled the determination of the people. Morale certainly is high, and the bombing has led to great resolve; but we must also understand very clearly that high morale and iron will are not simply emotional reactions, rooted in revenge, anger, and hatred. The Vietnamese response is more than a reaction. The Vietnamese have come to grips with the war itself, and their response is exceedingly rational and thoughtfully considered. Morale and confidence, *elan* and will -- these depend on the concrete success of positive measures taken by the Vietnamese to deal with the war. The accomplishments are visible.

The civilian defense system, for example, is not abstract or a figment of the impassioned imagination. It is an elaborate network, covering every residence and workplace. Along every street in Hanoi is a row of closely-spaced individual cylindrical shelters. Each of these pedestrian shelters now has a cover, an innovation developed in the course of daily bombardments in various villages. Ten months ago the shelters in Hanoi did not have them, but they have been installed recently because they have been tested in the crucible of real attack and found to be more effective.

To the casual observer, the air defense system is less impressive. It is obvious that without an air force or more missiles, ground defense is of limited effectiveness. Yet here, too, we must understand that the degree of success -- or lack of it -- is not easily concealed or distorted. People in a small village may have no way of checking the overall figures reported by the Government, but they can hardly avoid verifying the accuracy of results turned in by the local militia or self-defense units. One afternoon while I was in Hanoi, the Vietnamese who worked in my hotel rushed outside as anti-aircraft guns crackled in the distance. I followed in time to see the vapors of the clashing missiles and reconnaissance jets. Two U. S. planes were shot down (never to be admitted by the Pentagon). There are too many witnesses for an over-enthusiastic gunner to risk exaggeration.

Morale is high because some planes are shot down and, more importantly, because countless lives are saved. Visible improvement in both areas means a great deal. The Vietnamese have a realistic picture of what is in store in coming months. They do not expect "restraining influences" in the U. S. somehow to inhibit the Johnson administration from pushing still farther in its war of incineration and annihilation. All my Viet-

Report from Hanoi

namese friends assured me that Hanoi would soon be bombed. They concede the destruction of every physical structure in that city. They have long ago begun the considerable preparation required to save the maximum number of lives. The children have been evacuated to relatively safer rural areas. Already, parents have adjusted to the "boarding school" routine. On Saturdays and Sundays, they are to be seen in long lines waiting to purchase bus tickets to take them to the outlying provinces to visit with their children. On the lighter side, my guide told me that everyone was having a second honeymoon with the children away. (True enough, it was not only young lovers who sat around Hanoi's lakes on Saturday nights.)

Factories, too, have been broken up and relocated on a decentralized basis, in anticipation of a long period of bombardment. But the primary emphasis -- and the chief source of morale -- is the effort to preserve life. Every family is equipped with a sampan in the delta areas, on the assumption that the dikes will be destroyed. The resultant flood is thought of as though it were a natural disaster. It is a fact of life to be dealt with. No miracle is expected.

There is a grim corollary to the Vietnamese emphasis on preserving life. The Johnson administration seems to recognize that this is the source of morale, and acts accordingly. The bombings of North Vietnam are an attempt to break morale, and to do so they must be calculated to terrorize the population and to kill as effectively as possible. My judgment is not merely logical hypothesis; it is amply supported by the widespread use of weapons -- such as fragmentation bombs and "lazy dogs" -- which are nothing but anti-personnel weapons, or no possible use against military targets. Fragmentation bombs containing pellets of steel and the "lazy dog" with its tightly packed slivers of razor-edge steel bounce off bridges and other steel and concrete structures. To use them against non-human "military targets" is like using mouse-traps and rat poison against tanks and airplanes. It is a conscious lie to say otherwise. Hundreds of these small bombs are dropped at one time. Their transistorized timing devices detonate them at irregular intervals, such that some explode as they are being dropped and others lie dormant for minutes, hours, even a few days. When the planes have left and first-aid teams emerge to treat the victims of an air attack, some are invariably stricken by the delayed-action bombs, whose tiny pellets or slivers are deadly to human or animal life at a distance of many yards. It requires more than cynicism to design, build, and use such weapons.

Ed. Note -- Russ Stetler's passport has just been revoked

PEOPLE'S POWER

on equality for women

Jane Adams
Illinois Regional Traveler

I begin by positing that people can be free; that is, together, whole, in harmony with their environment, unafraid. My second premise is that relationships in this society are based on inequality: dominance/submission, therefore inability to have human interaction based on recognition of the whole of the other person or of oneself, therefore based on fear, on un-freedom.

We can see this most clearly in regards to the Negro -- the almost slave status black people have in this country, and the reciprocal master attitude of whites, with all the fear systems involved in maintaining that relationship, with the ensuing dehumanized, unwhole relationships they have with each other.

However, deeper than race inequality, are the structures of our institutions which make almost all of us, in similar ways, caught in either dominant -- master --, or submissive -- slave -- roles. Since most of our relationships are institutionalized, set by roles structurally defined by the society, we are all caught in the bind. Let us look at the institutionalization of relationships more:

1) Economic institutions: the factory. In the factory, decisions are made by the "bosses" -- the owners or people they hire to administer. There are very rigid lines of command, with the decisions being passed down from rung to rung until one gets to the "worker" -- the person who is on the assembly line, who puts the nut on the bolt, who types the letter, who codes the machine. Each person is responsible to the "boss" above him, who is in turn responsible to the one above him, and so on up the bureaucracy. Human interaction between levels is almost nil, relationships are machine-like, but, because human beings are acting, and not machines, the interactions are fear-filled: One resents the "boss" above, because one does not like to be ordered around, does not like having one's creativity and humanity denied; one fears the people one is boss of, because of understanding the resentment. So factories become very sick places in which to spend 8 hours of one's day. Equal relationships would require equality in decision-making, which is impossible within present institutions. (These relationships become even sicker if minorities are involved: if a woman, or a black person, etc. is "boss" over a man or a white, the resentment of the person who must be submissive, because of his institutional role, but

who considers himself dominant, because of his social role, is great. I worked in a small factory for a while where the owners, who were also the immediate bosses, were Jewish. The fore-woman was Polish, and the workers were Puerto Rican. The complexity of those interactions would take several pages to describe. Suffice it to say that the authority relationships were exaggerated by that ethnic combination.)

2) Educational institutions: Here it is the "state" or the board of trustees who are the final decision-makers. If one is a student, faculty, or maintenance person, one never meets these people, just as in a large corporation workers never see the boss, and the boss never sees them. The result is much the same, tho relationships are smoother, and tend not to be quite as rigid in their role-playing. The productive decisions are made by the Board as general guide-lines -- do we need more emphasis on fine arts, on science, on teaching? and the general philosophical guidelines also: do we teach Marxism in the History and Philosophy Dept.? is our Fine Arts program oriented to people who will become secondary school teachers, etc.

The same structure basically applies to elementary and secondary schools. The administration then carries out the guidelines, thru admissions policies, hiring policies, allocations of funds to various depts., etc. Then the chairman of the dept. further refines the guidelines by deciding on courses, recommending instructors for raises, etc.

The instructor then follows thru by giving the appropriate material to his students and expecting certain production, in terms of pap-

ers, exams, and oral replies, from the students, from which he decides the "payment" -- grades and recommendations -- within the guidelines set down from above.

People within this system respond in manners similar to those of people in industry: students, like workers, are submissive, intimidated and fearful. Instructors are authoritarian, towards the students, submissive to those above them. Their submission often takes the form of "ass-licking" of the higher-ups, but almost never an equal, free, unafraid relationship. This would mean entering equally into the decision-making, and with the institution already set up on a hierarchical basis, with responsibilities to a "system" which equal participation might threaten, this is impossible. Same as in industry.

3) Politics: Within political parties, the same top-down, authoritarian pattern can be found. The method by which the constituency enters into the process is somewhat different from that of workers and students: they are kept in a submissive position by the threat of "expertise" and "knowledge"; leadership, and sometimes by outright lying. Also, since the parties are by-and-large run on lines similar to all other institutions, candidates are not chosen by the constituency, so there is no real choice in whom one will vote for. So the people cannot enter into equal dialogue with the political and certainly no one can enter as a whole person into the political process.

The bureaucracy, and the interests which find that bureaucracy necessary (which are the same interests which find the bureau-

(Continued on page 7)

NATIONAL OFFICE REPORT

Implementing a Draft-Resistance Program

Dee Jacobson
Ass't Nat'l Sec'y - N.O.

"A flight into the realm of fantasy!" "That's not where it's at!" "Rhetoric, rhetoric, empty rhetoric!" These were among the chants which rose from the ranks of the disheartened and disillusioned during the NC debate on the Draft-Resistance resolution. The forecasters of doom were not joined by the majority of delegates in their contention that SDS had adopted another unrealizable program. However, the pointed howls of these iconoclasts did not fall wide of every mark. In fact, these howls penetrated like a fine tipped wooden wedge the long dormant body known (or unknown) among SDS members who miraculously receive NLN and other special dispensations as the NO.

Since returning from the NC, the rejuvenated National Office has been attempting to cope with the formidable task of formulating a national structure within which meaningful forms of Draft-Resistance can be both fostered and facilitated. A brief description of activities undertaken and ideas born appears below.

1. The search for a super-person to serve as National Draft-Resistance Coordinator has begun. Hopefully, such a person will be on the job in the next two weeks. A National Coordinator would attempt to relate Field Secretaries (see below) to real and potential Draft-Resistors Unions in an organizationally significant fashion. He would also attempt to coordinate communications and activities among the Unions themselves. In addition, he would be responsible for coordinating SDS-initiated programs with the functionally related endeavors of other groups and individuals. P. R. (attempted news management) would be yet another humble obligation of the Coordinator.

2. During the last two weeks, three Regional Field Secretaries have been hired by the NAC (see recent NAC minutes). Two additional Field personnel will probably be hired within the next week. Regional staff will attempt to serve dual roles by utilizing the Draft-Resistance issue as a vehicle for organizing and internal education. Field Secretaries will also strive to provide aid and inspiration to people who are interested in any of the various facets of Draft-Resistance.

3. A Draft-Resistor's handbook (probable title: "The American Revolution As An Alternative To The Draft: A Guide To Draft-Resistance") is also in the works. As currently conceptualized, this manual will be approximately 30 pages in length.

The first section will explore the reasons for and general implications of Draft-Resistance. Included will be an explanation of the coercive nature and devilish purposes of the Selective Service system, an examination of the moral and tactical aspects of organized resistance (placed in historical perspective), and an analysis of the educational potential of a properly conducted Draft-Resistance program. The final portion of the initial section will discuss the probability of an establishment backlash and the possible legal implications of such a backlash for Draft-Resistors will be set forth.

The second major section of the manual will address itself to the practical aspects of Draft-Resistance. For example, Draft-Resistors Unions will be defined and the techniques for forming them will be discussed. Subsections focusing on tactics will deal with action at induction centers, anti-draft and anti-war education, making demonstrations relevant, anti-draft petitions, publicizing your campaign and capitalizing on unpreventable arrests, legal preparations, the creative response to coercion, legal forms of obstructionism, prison organizing, etc.

A tentative third section will set down alternatives to the draft, i.e., The American Way Of Life.

The manual's final section will outline the various national resources available to a person or organization interested in engaging in or supporting Draft-Resistance.

The format outlined above is still tentative, and any criticisms, suggestions or manuscripts related to the manual's content or Draft-Resistance in general are welcomed.

4. Communications with organizations (SANE, War Resistors League, We Won't Go Groups, etc.) are being initiated.

5. Efforts are being made to establish a lawyer's committee to defend Draft-Resistors, and defense fund resources are being solicited.

expenses incurred, including staff salaries, transportation, supplies, phone, etc. came to \$575.39. The National Office had sent the RO \$300 before the NC for expenses, leaving \$275 of uncovered expenses. The NAC decided not to send them the \$275, as in the past regional offices and colleges have sponsored NCs expecting the NO to cover only exceptional expenses. It was felt that salaries, transportation, phone bills, and most office supplies were routine expenses. In line with the concept of regional self-sufficiency, the NAC felt that the NO was not expected to pay these expenses.

It was decided to hold on a request for the California membership tapes made by Bob Speck until the use of those tapes has been ascertained. Also, the NAC is confused about the status of the SFRO, as it is, so far as can be ascertained, unconstitutional and undemocratically constituted. (See Article IV of SDS Constitution.)

II. Doug Norberg has requested \$100 a month for living and travelling expenses. He is in the process of setting up a regional meeting to plan a series of monthly educational conferences, and is quite broke. He was mandated that amount.

At this point the NAC discussed financial priorities: 1) New Left Notes, 2) N.O. staff salary, 3) Telephone and other critical office expenses, 4) Regional travellers, 5) Literature.

Regional travellers will be given salary for three months, during which time they are expected to become self-sufficient. At the end of this time, their request will be reviewed.

III. Financial report: At this time we have a balance of \$812.30. Outstanding bills come to better than \$1000: \$900 to TWO (for NLN), \$200 for phone, plus . . . Income is currently about \$160 a day -- enough to cover NLN, salaries, plus \$300 a month (no telephone, regional salaries, or literature).

Fundraising: Greg Calvert is currently in New York and Boston fundraising:

1. Borrow \$2,950 for option on 5000 copies of Oglesby's book at cost (MacMillan & Co. Publishers). Will cost us appx. 60¢, sell at \$1.45.
2. Contacting people in N. Y. who have given us money.
3. Get "parents and supporters of SDS" set up in NYC.
4. Possibility of obtaining National Guardian subscription list.
5. Possibility of obtaining Interuniversities Committee list.
6. Have Midwest Faculty list
7. May get Adams campaign list
8. WE NEED A FUNDRAISER -- FULL TIME

IV. Cathy reported that she has offers for advertising in NLN from various left magazines. She was requested to ask for a cash, not exchange, ad, for most of the magazines. She was given a mandate to solicit ads, using her discretion on content, with the aim of making NLN nearly self-sufficient.

Jane was mandated to make an ad for Ramparts (Cathy to negotiate ad), content being draft resistance.

V. REP has requested SDS membership tapes to exchange with other magazines subscription lists. It was agreed that REP could have the SDS list in exchange for theirs, after negotiations for ads in those magazines had been completed by SDS.

VI. A. 5000 copies of the draft proposal (see NLN Jan. 13) will be printed up, with 5000 copies of "From Protest to Resistance" by Greg Calvert (same issue).

B. We are beginning to contact lawyers for defense of draft resistors.

C. Law students are doing the research for the legal section of the draft resistor's manual.

The office was given a strong mandate to ensure maximum security of membership files, financial records, and other important materials.

(Continued on page 8)

LETTERS

to the editor

To the Editor:

NLN did a great service in reprinting America and the New Era. I was struck on re-reading it how well it captured the critical spirit that has remained dominant in SDS thinking for the next four years. Its analysis of managerial politics was especially telling, although the Kennedy it named has been replaced by his brother.

SDS members will be interested to know that the 1964 convention (a year after America and the New Era was adopted) tried to improve on it, and failing to do that, instructed a committee to update its particulars in a new document -- without changing the political content. Dick Flacks and Paul Potter were the committee, and one thing led to another, resulting in the eventual outcome that they never completed their mandate.

I think it is still a good idea to update "ANE." I would propose that the National Secretary attempt to revitalize that committee, appointing replacements if necessary, to carry out the '64 convention's mandate. The product of that committee should not be considered as the expression of an SDS Convention, considering the time that has elapsed, but it could be a very valuable discussion document for chapters.

Paul Booth
Hyde Park CDS

To the Editor

I hereby offer my sympathy to those who tried to read by article on automation in the Dec. 30 New Left Notes. The key to deciphering it is to realize that various paragraphs that appear in it have been removed from their proper positions and scattered randomly throughout the article. As far as I can tell there are no lines missing. Once

this is understood, it takes only a few hours to decode the article and uncover its hidden meaning. Students of cryptanalysis and modern poetry will find this an entertaining exercise.

Seriously -- I understand the difficulties which a poor but radical organization must have in putting out a newspaper, and on the whole you do a good job. But can't SOMETHING be done to improve the proof-reading department?

Sincerely,
Ed Jahn

Dear Sir:

Effective immediately I resign my membership in Students for a Democratic Society.

The statements and actions of the members and officers of the organization over the last several months have convinced me that SDS is incapable of achieving "a society free from poverty, ignorance, war, exploitation, and the inhumanity of man to man." SDS has rejected the free market economy and representative democracy, the only means historically through which reform has succeeded in America. SDS has through its public actions alienated the majority of the American people, the only legal source of change in a free society. SDS has by thinking in terms of ideology rather than reality presented unworkable solutions to the problems of American society. SDS has through its support of black power encouraged that kind of violence which is threatening to destroy the American social order.

Please feel free to publish this resignation in New Left Notes.

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,
Barry Franklin

MAKE DRAFT-RESISTANCE A REALITY

Keep the National Office informed regarding Draft-Resistance programs and activities in your area. Submit your reports and/or requests for information to: resist, SDS, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612. For emergency aid or advice call (312) 666-3874. Watch NLN for the names and addresses of your local resistance agents. Why don't you organize a Draft-Resistors Union?

NAC Minutes

JANUARY 17, 1967

Jane Adams

Present: Jacobson, Berkowitz, Adams, Wilkerson, Tepperman, Goldsmith.

Absent: Silbar, Calvert

Others: John Veneziale, Patty Stevens, Arni Gubins

Agenda:

- I. San Francisco Region Financial Report and request for money
- II. Los Angeles Region -- request for money
- III. Report on finances
- IV. NLN ads
- V. Membership tapes for REP
- VI. Implementation of Draft Resistance program.
- VII. Spring National Council Meeting -- dates.
- VIII. Staff
- IX. Literature priorities.

I. The San Francisco Regional Office has requested \$275 to cover expenses incurred during November and December, 1966, while they were planning the National Council Meeting. According to the report, total

NEW LEFT NOTES

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Nick Egleson, president; Carl Davidson, vice-president; and Greg Calvert, national secretary.

National Office: 1608 W. Madison, Rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. 60612 (312) 666-3874
New York City: 49 West 27th St., NYC, NY 1001; (212) 889-5793

Niagara Region: 107 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, NY

Northern California: 924 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif; (415) 362-7922

Southern California: 4319 Melrose, Los Angeles, California, 90019

New England: 138 River St., Cambridge, Mass., 02139

Radical Education Project: 510 East William, Ann Arbor, Mich.

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(Continued from page 1)

maining 16 million are currently feeling the effects of the *classification and deferment system* that is at the heart of the mechanism for controlling manpower. This article will try to show how the Selective Service System uses the threat of conscripted labor in the military sector of the economy to direct the behaviour and vocational choices of the great majority in the non-military sectors of the economy.

The job of Selective Service is best described, not as the selection of who will go, but rather as the delivery of a quota of perviously screened males to the Department of Defense which, in turn, determines their acceptability for induction. A man is issued his induction order only after he has passed the double-filtering process of SSS and the Department of Defense (DOD).

THE MYSTERIOUS MECHANICS

The criteria for "acceptability" by the DOD are narrow: Are you healthy? Are you trainable? Are you likely to become an administrative problem? Answers to these questions are sought at the time of the pre-induction physical examination -- that is, the inspection by the military of Selective Service's suggested candidates for induction. If you conform to prevailing minimum physical, mental, and "moral" standards as measured by DOD procedures you will be ordered into the Armed Services.

The criteria used by the Selective Service System in deciding who should be offered to the military for inspection and possible removal from the competing civilian sectors of the economy are much more complex. They reflected the SSS's legal responsibility to procure military manpower with *minimum consequences for the economic life of the nation*. In other words, it should pick as its offering to the DOD those individuals in whose absence the nation can pursue its domestic "business as usual."

For a super-technological society which proposes to fight or be prepared to fight big and small wars for the foreseeable future, this manpower inventory and control takes on tremendous importance.

This is how the control system works. Each registrant is placed in one of 18 classes and sub-classes through a classification action of his local selective service board. The outcome of the classification action depends on the board's decision as to whether the individual is currently pursuing a civilian activity which is sufficiently in accord with the "National Interest" to warrant placing him in a non-inductible category. Those individuals who are of age but who are not acting in the "National Interest" in their civilian capacities are assigned to inductible categories. Registrants so classified comprise the local board's monthly "availability statistic."

At the state Selective Service headquarters the "availability" total for the state is formulated as a composite of local board reports. It is these reports of availability that the National Headquarters of Selective Service uses when dividing the burden of the manpower "call" -- issued by the DOD -- among the states. State headquarters then takes its share of the national "quota" and breaks it down into sub-quotas for local boards -- again on the basis of the availability statistic.

For example, if total availables for the State of Michigan were ten percent of the availables in the nation as a whole, then (with minor adjustments for enlistments and for the "rejection rate experience" with the military) the draft quota for Michigan Selective Service Boards will be ten percent of the overall national manpower "call." If the State quota is 1000 and the Ann Arbor Local Board reported 10% of the state's total supply of availables, then its quota would be ten percent of 1000, or 100.

ON YOUR TOES, BOY

It must be remembered, however, that a registrant only becomes part of the availability statistic if he is classified as inductible. If his board considers him to be serving the national interest by virtue of his occupation in civilian life, it will not want to take any chance on his being removed from the civilian sector and will classify him accordingly. Thus, if every draft-age registrant with the Ann Arbor Board happened to be a jig and template maker earning a living by training more jig and template makers in a technical institute, the board could very easily come up with an availability statistic of zero. Being a jig and template maker teaching the skill at a technical institute is a guarantee of being placed in one of the sub-categories of Class II -- occupational deferment.

Similarly, a board whose registrants all meet the going standards for full-time college student would have no registrants "available" -- regardless of the total number of registrants -- because college students are defined by statute as being in the "National Interest." On the other hand, if the jurisdiction of the board covers an area in which registrants are not students and do not possess skills which are deemed essential in the civilian sectors of the economy, the local board will be able to report a large number of availables and will be assigned a large delivery quota.

Under the present system, registrants who behave in the desired manner in civilian life are omitted from consideration for soldierhood.

It must be understood, however, that a key feature of the present Selective Service System is that nobody is *exempt*. Registrants are merely *deferred*. The status of the registrant is reviewed periodically and if his activities do not continue to justify deferment he is made "available" for induction. For SSS, this provides the answer to the "ever-increasing problem of how to control effectively the service of individuals who are not in the armed services." The System identifies this method of positive control by the term "channeling" -- the dynamics of which it describes as follows:

"Educators, scientists, engineers, and their professional organizations, during the last ten years particularly, have been convincing the American public that for the mentally qualified man there is a special order of patriotism other than service in uniform -- that for the man having the capacity, dedicated service as a civilian in such fields as engineering, the sciences, and teaching constitute the ultimate in their expression of patriotism. A large segment of the American public has been convinced that this is true.

"It is in this atmosphere that the young man registers at age 18 and pressure begins to force his choice. He does not have the inhibitions that a philosophy of universal service in uniform would engender. The door is open for him as a student to qualify if capable in a skill badly needed by his nation. He has many choices and is prodded to make a decision.

"The psychological effect of this circumstantial climate depends upon the individual, his sense of good sportsmanship, his love of country and its way of life. He can obtain a sense of well-being and satisfaction that he is

doing as a civilian what will help his country most. This process encourages him to put forth his best effort and removes to some degree the stigma that has been attached to being out of uniform.

"In the less patriotic and more selfish individual it engenders a sense of fear, uncertainty, and dissatisfaction which motivates him, nevertheless, in the same direction. He complains of the uncertainty which he must endure; he would like to be able to do as he pleases; he would appreciate a certain future with no prospect of military service or civilian contribution, but he complies with the needs of the national health, safety, or interest -- or is denied deferment.

"Throughout his career as a student, the pressure -- the threat of loss of deferment -- continues. It continues with equal intensity after graduation. His local board requires periodic reports to find out what he is up to. He is impelled to pursue his skill rather than embark upon some less important enterprise and is encouraged to apply his skill in an essential activity in the national interest. The loss of deferred status is the consequence for the individual who acquired the skill and either does not use it or uses it in a non-essential activity.

"The psychology of granting wide choice under pressure to take action is the American or indirect way of achieving what is done by direction in foreign countries where choice is not permitted."

The standards against which registrants striving to retain their draft-deferred status are measured are the *Department of Commerce List of Currently Essential Activities* and the *U. S. Dept. of Labor List of Currently Critical Occupations*. The former activities are supposed to be "(1) necessary to the defense program, a basic health, safety, or interest, and (2) inadequate to meet defense and civilian requirements because of manpower shortage or for which the future manpower supply is not reasonably assured."

An occupation is listed as currently critical when "(1) under the foreseeable mobilization program an overall shortage of workers in the occupation exists or is developing which will significantly interfere with effective functioning of essential industries or activities, (2) a minimum accelerated training time of two years (or the equivalent in work experience) is necessary to the satisfactory performance of all the major tasks found in the occupation, and (3) the occupation is indispensable to the functioning of the industries or activities in which it occurs."

THE MATRIX OF POWER

Announcement of currently critical activities and occupations is the job of an obscured group called the Interagency Advisory Committee on Essential Activities and Critical Occupations, Bureau of Employment Security, of the Dept. of Labor. The judgements, which are reached in conjunction with business and Defense Department manpower experts, are made known in booklets that are revised every few years and in an endless stream of memorandums, press releases, and informal advice that issues from the Department of Labor. Selective Service follows the guidelines faithfully, passing them down the line to the local boards which perform the classification actions. In addition, the SSS does a bit of manpower research of its own to further ensure that its choices are satisfactory to all interested powers. The SSS engages in "arduous study, entailing continuous liaison and cooperation with civilian manpower users, with other government agencies concerned with utilization of civilian manpower and the Department of Defense, surveys of conditions in local areas -- as well as in the country as a whole..."

One of the most important refinements in manpower channeling is a program called the Employer's Inventory of Critical Manpower. It is an intriguing collaboration between the Selective Service System and two quasi-official agencies -- the Engineering Manpower Commission and the Scientific Manpower Commission. The program, which is obviously tailored to the needs of large corporations, provides regular procedures and channels of communication by which large, private "manpower users" can apprise themselves of the latest developments in Selective Service "channeling" policies and in the critical occupations and essential activities guidelines.

The Employer's Inventory makes it possible for the large firm to predict and take measures to minimize the disruption which it might experience upon withdrawal for military service of different combinations of its skilled manpower. Two of the manpower questions the Employer's Inventory program is supposed to help answer are quite evocative: "How much consideration should be given to possibility of transfer of critical employees from a non-essential to essential activity in the event of a national emergency?" "Are there enough men in the less vulnerable categories to fill in for possible loss of those in highly vulnerable categories?" (Employer's Inventory of Critical Manpower) *The implication of these two questions would seem to be that by relatively minor manipulations of its manpower audit, a corporation can preserve a sizeable proportion of its skilled help from the draft.*

Although it is not explicitly stated, the Employer's Manpower Inventory Program performs still another function. Through its provisions for employers to report their own analyses of the impact of manpower losses on their own operations (the Program's materials contain an explanatory letter from General Hershey and the address of every state Selective Service Headquarters) the program obviously provides the SSS with the data it needs to formulate pro-business policies for local boards.

The Selective Service System makes much of its apparently decentralized decision-making structure. Local boards, composed of your "neighbors" and mine are the ones who pass judgement upon us. A real grass-roots, democratic, people's operation.

A number of responses can be made to this. In the first place, the system uses its decentralized organization chart to evade accountability for its actions on all levels. Ask General Hershey. He'll tell you to go to the state Director. Ask your local board. The clerk will tell you to see the State Director. The State Director will tell you to see General Hershey. *Ad infinitum.*

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

The members of your local board do not have to be your neighbors at all. They must merely reside in the same county in which the board has its jurisdiction. If you live in a black ghetto, the "friends and neighbors" who offer you to the pacification industry can be all white, the owner of a plant, a plant production manager, the owner of an insurance agency, an accountant, and the owner of a grocery store. That's the way it is with Local Board 323, Royal Oak, Michigan.

One spokesman for the Selective Service System National Headquarters has even rhetorically asked whether "anyone would want to see a truck driver on a draft board." Indeed, the process of selection of draft board members -- nomination by the state Governor and automatic appointment by the President -- guarantees that boards will be controlled by, if not composed of, members of the local power structure.

In this set of circumstances, the beauty of SSS decentralization is that it permits local businessmen to adapt the nationally formulated pro-business manpower guidelines to their local needs.

In times of normal cold war when the demand for soldiers is stable and there is considerable slack in the economy, there are far more men in the "available" pool than the armed forces can actually use. In order to simplify the problem of selecting those who will actually be called for inspection and induction, boards generally are very liberal in granting deferments. And since they do not have to follow guidelines very closely, subjective feelings of board members play a large part in the decision. In time of manpower stress, however, local boards are much more likely to follow the national classification guidelines closely. Then the "national interest" criteria are applied with greater uniformity and "fairness." Under such circumstances it is not the administration of the classification and deferment system that should be attacked, but the manpower channeling system as a whole. To be sure, the Selective Service is only one of many federal programs aimed at shaping human beings in the interest of the nation's corporate elite. But because it attempts to control all males during the time that they are making crucial life choices, and because it possesses draconic powers of enforcement, it is the most important and effective.

CANNON FODDER

As a system that coerces men into submitting to inventory and classification in categories which have been developed by a closed elite, the Selective Service System has a continual legitimacy problem. As the war in Vietnam has made it the focus of public attention in the past few years, the government has tried to obscure SSS's undemocratic character by charging it with responsibility for social uplift. The most ambitious program to date has been the one to draft and then "salvage" registrants who had been classified "Y" (not available except in time of war or national emergency).

1Y is an administrative category which is used to contain those candidates for induction who make low scores on the Armed Forces Qualifying Test which everyone takes at the preinduction physical examination. The DOD can, at will, revise the minimum acceptable score upward or downward. Last summer, Mr. McNamara did the latter. He announced that 40,000 economically "disadvantaged" youths who had performed poorly on the AFQT would now be given a chance to join the army. They would be inducted, trained up to standard, taught useful skills, and eventually returned to the civilian sector after having been imparted skills and attitudes that would make them useful to industry.

This course of action was attractive to the manpower planners for several reasons. In the first place, it made the most of the chance to make SSS prominent in the War on Poverty—a crusade which doesn't seem to mind using the Vietnam cure for deprivation. The move was somewhat effective in silencing critics of the Selective Service System.

Secondly, it established the precedent for draining the 1Y pool before going after those who are likely to be more articulate and politically powerful—students, and those with other types of occupational deferment. The "Y" pool is especially useful because it contains nearly twice as many registrants as the 1A pool of "available."

Finally, the economically "disadvantaged" who predominate in 1Y are, by definition, the least likely to be missed in the civilian sector of the economy. And those who come back will, of course, have been trained at public expense.

There are other indications that the Selective Service System will be used more aggressively as an instrument of domestic social control. The procedure in effect since July, 1964, of early inspection of all registrants and the referral of those with "problems" to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and to state agencies is only the beginning.

Describing itself as "the largest manpower inventory in the country" and "the most readily available facility for securing and evaluating occupational information," SSS now declares that:

"There is an immediate and pressing need to determine the acceptability of the individual to serve the nation in any capacity. In addition to physical characteristics, individuals possess certain other traits which thus far have not been measured. The examination of individuals has been made on a piece-meal approach with separate specialists ruling on the defects of the individual by segments rather than by an overall evaluation of the individual as a functional human being. With the privilege they have of seeing all young men, the Armed Forces can ill afford to disclaim an obligation or lose an opportunity to render this broader service to the nation. The Armed Forces are permitted to determine the qualifications of those accepted for the military and while they are doing this, positive findings on any usefulness should be sought after. The necessity for examining the whole man on the basis of his ability to do any useful service is not only essential as far as the civilian effort is concerned, but it has an immediate direct, and continuing effect upon military manpower and logistical problems. There should be an appraisal classification of individuals according to their degree of actual usefulness. A system of functional appraisal whereby manpower can be divided into recognizable sub-divisions must be developed. The underlying premise here is that the total national defense effort demands that a man be accepted for what he can do, rather than reject him for what he cannot do."

It would seem that the above is a prescription for the type of people-cataloguing and direction that would accompany any kind of universal national service plan. Indeed, universal national service would seem to be an even more potent tool for achieving the state goals of Selective Service. Everybody would be inventoried and rated for usefulness in occupational and activity categories which they had no part in creating. They would then be directly compelled to work at tasks that are in the "national interest." Undoubtedly, a touch of legitimacy would be extended to the whole operation by employing the conscript labor at various tasks of social uplift.

In the November, 1965 issue of its monthly internal publication *SELECTIVE SERVICE*, the System proudly ran the text of a letter which is described as a request for occupational deferment from military service as far back as 1778. The content of the letter, which is addressed to the Governor of New York, and the fact that Selective Service chose to call attention to it, are an excellent capsule summary of the meaning of the System:

"To Governor Clinton

Claremount, 19 Novr., 1778

As you were so Obligen as to indulge me with an exemption from Military Duty for my workmen, who were Employed in Building my farm house, I am encouraged to request the Same favor for those to be employed in rebuilding my late Dwelling House—Many hands must Necessarily be engaged as the House is pretty large, such as Masons, Carpenters, Brick-burners Labourers & Lime Breakers and Burners—I Hope for an Exemption for the present for My Stonebreakers & Lime Mkers, who are Conrad Lasher Junr & Henry Timmerman both in Capt Tiel Rockavellers Company of the Camp—Also for Phil Schultus under Capt Phillip Smith of the Manor as a Labourer—if Yr Excely will favour me my Daughters (daughters) can

bring up the Certifycate as they propose waiting upon Mrs. Clinton, to whom I beg you'll be pleased to present my Best Respects

I am
your Exelys
Humble Servant
Margt. Livingston"

In the spirit of 1778, the Selective Service System of today is every bit as important in coercing the nation's youth into serving the rich and powerful at home as it is in conscripting them to fight against the people of Vietnam.

The civilian victims of the tyranny of the classification and deferment system outnumber by a large margin those who are already in the armed forces or have been classified as "available." They represent a political force of much greater potential. It would therefore seem that people who are organizing around the draft issue should try to devise ways to publicize the coercive nature of the classification and deferment system and the undemocratic way in which the classification categories are created and administered. Several tactics suggest themselves.

On the national level we should not miss the opportunity for attacking the entire manpower channeling system when the Selective Service enabling legislation comes up for debate in Congress. Some of the demands that might be made are that: (1) The committees which formulate the manpower classification criteria be compelled to hold open hearings; (2) that they publish the full text of all their deliberations; (3) that a thirty to sixty day appeal period follow the formulation and initial publication of new manpower "guidelines" before they acquire official standing; and (4) that representation on the committees of such left-out segments of the population as teachers, students, and the unskilled poor be required by law. The slogan might be "No classification without representation."

At the local level, the main thrust could be toward exposure of the unrepresentative nature of the draft boards which decide whether or not a person should be made "available" to the military. One argument which might be effective with people is to contrast the "quota" handed to a board which presides over a district in which most registrants are well off with the quota for a board which inventories poor people. It is virtually certain that the former board will be shielding most of its registrants occupational deferment categories, will be reporting few "availables," and will be receiving a small quota. The other board will be making virtually everyone "available" and will be receiving a heavy quota. Local Draft Boards are required to divulge the boundaries of their jurisdictions and their current *Report of Availability and Summary of Classification*. In addition, they must supply the names (but not addresses) of members of the board to any registrant of that board.

Finally, we should take advantage of the occupational deferment guidelines themselves by:

(1) Publicizing the divisions that the classification system opens up between people in the same life situation. For example, a high school physics teacher is considered to have a "critical" occupation—the French teacher down the hall is not. A vocational trades teacher has a "critical" occupation—most of his students will probably be drafted.

(2) Openly and legally counseling "Draft Dodging" when working with young people by telling them what kind of training is available (or not available, as the case may be). A leaflet designed for youths not going to college might read:

"DODGE THE DRAFT -- IT'S LEGAL!"

The military and business rulers of the United States have decided that young men who are valuable to business cannot be taken away to become soldiers in Vietnam. They have told your local draft board that if you are now, or are training to become a jig and template maker, you should be allowed to escape the draft. A jig and template maker "builds forms, jigs, fixtures, and templates of wood, metal, and other materials for use as guides or standards by other workers in mass production. Studies blueprints and lays out, cuts, and assembles component parts, using a variety of wood and metalworking tools and equipment. Works to close tolerances and checks dimensions with precision measuring devices." (Employer's Inventory of Critical Manpower)

If you would like to become a jig and template maker in order to dodge the draft, see your high school counselor or local employment service. While you're there, ask about the many other good draft-dodging jobs—such as machinist, instrument repairman, dental technician, or airplane mechanic.

For more details on jobs or training that you can get to avoid the draft and stay out of Vietnam, write to:

Executive Secretary,
Interagency Advisory Committee on
Essential Activities and Critical
Occupations, Bureau of Employment
Security, U. S. Department of Labor,
Washington 25, D. C.

A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY ON

Selective Service as a Channeler of Manpower

Selective Service Regulations: Supplied in indexed notebook form. Amendment service is provided. Available for \$5.00 from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Selective Service Transmittal Memorandums: Same format as above. Cost is \$4.00.

Selective Service Orientation Kit: A very valuable source. Ten short essays summarize the goals, operations, history, and desired future of SSS. Available on request from Capt. William S. Pascoe USNR, Chief, Public Information, Selective Service System (National Headquarters), 1724 F Street, Washington, D.C.

Report of Availability and Summary of Classification (SSS Form 116): This form is filled out each month on the local, state, and National levels of the System. Since the information is in the public domain, the respective SSS offices must supply it on request.

Selective Service. Monthly bulletin. This invaluable source is "medium of information between National Headquarters and other components of the Selective Service System." Available from: Office of Legislation, Liaison, and Public Information, SSS National Headquarters.

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Outline of Historical Background of Selective Service and Chronology: A useful summary of the evolution of the Selective Service System. Available from SSS National Headquarters.

(Continued on page 8)

The Mobilization Debate

Doug Norberg
California

Re: The national council vote on the April Mobilization.

The battle-lines within the peace movement are finally being drawn in the context of debate over the April Mobilization. Nobody is claiming that the April mobilization will end the war. The debate, instead, is polarizing in terms of those who see mobilization as a priority and those who see organizing as a priority. In this context, I think it is possible to say that it's the split between the liberals (call them Trots, if you wish) and the radicals.

While I disagree that the Mobilization is where it's at, I do think that the debate is valuable. We of the peace movement have very little grasp of the state of our resources, much less do we have a sense of priorities. Our actions very often reflect a highfalutin' morality (i.e., gut response to our feeling of powerlessness) rather than strategic consideration of the fact that since government is war, peace is revolution. Demonstrations presuppose that the country is democratic.

My feeling is that the peace movement will become meaningful — i.e., try to win — only if the April Mobilization is a disaster. A contradiction in terms? Not at all. By

being active, those in the march will lose their activism. Mobilizing the powerless, the Mobilization will feed their frustration. It won't end the war, nor will it provide any direction, any viable alternatives to illusory thinking for those involved. The Mobilization will take a despair and justify it.

Futhermore, by drawing its reality from the realm of abstract morality, the Mobilization occurs outside the reality of those to whom we must direct our efforts. It's symbolic nature separates us from those who experience wretched daily lives. A march is no alternative to alienation, much less poverty. Our symbolic morality directs itself at a ruling class and social system which likes us to buffer the needs of the powerless with the assumption that the power elite is moral, or can be. To demonstrate when we know that demonstrations are useless boggles my imagination. Can we not learn from the civil rights movement? Stokely Carmichael, writing in the New York Review, pointed out that:

... up to now ... there has been only a civil rights movement, whose tone of voice was adapted to an audience of liberal whites. It served as a sort of buffer zone between them and angry young blacks ... We had nothing to offer that they could see, except to go out and be beaten again.

We helped to build their frustration.

... we demonstrated from a position of weakness. We cannot be expected any longer to march and have our heads broken in order to say to whites: come on, you're nice guys. For you are not nice guys. We have found you out.

An organization which claims to speak for the needs of a community ... must speak in the tone of that community, not as somebody else's buffer zone.

Have we not experienced the same in the peace movement? I think we have reached the point where the realities of peace movement politics are becoming very clear. On the one hand is the liberal wing of the peace movement, which responds to its despair and powerlessness with still another futile and unimaginative exercise of their moral outrage. This is known as the loyal opposition, which accepts the assumptions of the rulers through their actions, if not their rhetoric. But you can't build an opposition to an undemocratic nation with symbolic protest! Unless, of course, you view the war an aberration ...

Albert Camus during World War II wrote to a friend in despair, not unlike the utilitarian Mobilizers of the peace movement:

remember: you and I had already rejected this society a long time before the catastrophe took place; we knew that it was destined to end in war, we both denounced this state of affairs, and both felt that there was nothing in common between this society and ourselves. It is the same society today, and it has reached its normal end.

... You must realize that men make war as much with the enthusiasm of those who want it as with the despair of those who reject it with all their soul.

Sometimes I'm asked, to voice my despair by writing my Congressman, or marching. Occasionally, I did. Inevitably, the despair was justified.

On the other hand, there are some radicals in the peace movement, who know that to dissipate our energy in building walls between ourselves and potential constituencies — with symbolic moral protest that has no relation to the lives of the masses (except in our fantasies) — is destructive of any possibility of a Movement.

We must chart a program and name our priorities as radicals — as something essentially different from liberals. We will find our Movement lost, I think, if we continue to forsake our own concerns for concerns of the liberal left. We are radicals, and we should leave to liberals their causes, whether they be a Civil Rights Act, a War on Poverty, a tuition-free university, another President Kennedy, a Peace Corps, a foreign aid, even perhaps a Guaranteed Annual Income — and a Mobilization. If such things are done, our involvement will be superfluous to their success and self-destructive of our most important work: building a public.

If, as radicals, we do not view the war as an aberration of policy; if we realize that it is a necessity for the maintenance of society as it stands; then we must devote all our energies to the priority of bringing the structure of society to an end, through a movement larger and more committed to the "unnewsworthy" daily work of the organizer than we find ourselves now. The Mobilization stands as the liberal's chance to rechannel the radical left away from its own imperatives. There are those who will claim that the Mobilization will not detract from local efforts — to which I reply, they are ignorant of our resources and they don't understand our purpose.

As the organization which, in large part, spawned this anti-war movement with the March in February, 1965, we have a responsibility to clarify ourselves to the CEWV's across the country. We have to say, no, we aren't reduced to despair. No, we tried that route, and found that moral aristocrats can't talk to the wretched of the earth. We have to tell them that illusions poison people, and tell them that their symbolic protest is built on the illusion of democracy. We have to tell them: we aren't the loyal opposition.

As an alternative, I propose that chapters begin considering themselves as Community Union Organizing Projects, on campus and off campus, and get to work confronting that structure wherever we are. The Vietnamese have their struggle, and only those with a non-symbolic struggle here can understand their's. For the price of a Mobilization we could hire 500 organizers or buy 500 printing presses.

PUERTO RICO

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE F.U.P.I. DELEGATE BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE TO PLAN A STUDENT ACTION IN THE SPRING, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, DECEMBER 29, 1966:

Federacion de Universitarios
Pro Independencia

Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

First of all I want to thank the organizers of this Conference for their kind invitation to the Federation of Puerto Rican University Students Pro Independence. Also, I want to bring the best regards from the students of Puerto Rico to the students of the United States. And very particularly, I want to express the respect, the admiration and the affection of the people of my country for the Afro American people, who are carrying on a national liberation movement, right inside the territory of the United States.

Yesterday, during the proceedings of the Conference, several speakers referred to U. S. imperialistic interventions all over the world: Viet Nam, of course, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Guatemala, and others. But I was very surprised that Puerto Rico wasn't mentioned. In Puerto Rico we often read and hear about student demonstrations in the United States opposing the war in Viet Nam, against the intervention in the Dominican Republic, and backing the Cuban Revolution. But not very often do we hear about student demonstrations demanding the independence of Puerto Rico. And Puerto Rico has been under the military, political and economic intervention of the United States for 68 years. (Maybe that's the problem; perhaps the American public has become used to it.) It seems as if in the mind of the American students, Puerto Rico was nothing but a sunny vacation spot or the source of hundreds of thousands of slum-dwellers in New York, Chicago and other big cities.

But we expect more from the American students. We know that from the United States we are going to receive drunken marines, ridiculous tourists, corrupted politicians, money-hungry enterprisers, and F.B.I. agents. That has been our "foreign aid" for 68 years. But we expect more from the American student. We expect you to search for the truth, because that is your duty as a student and as a human being, and, once you know where the truth is, fight for it with all your strength and responsibility, because that is also your duty as a student and as a human being.

And the truth about Puerto Rico is that we have been under the military, political and economic intervention of the United States for 68 years. That it is the U. S. Congress (in which, by the way, the colonial government of Puerto Rico has a representative who is not allowed vote or voice) who passes all the important laws regarding Puerto Rico. The U. S. Congress determines, for instance, how much sugar cane we are going to grow, to whom we are going to sell it, and at what price.

The truth about Puerto Rico is that all the important decisions that concern our transportation, our ports, our trade, the post office, the radio, television, our finances, the banks, the press, and all the economic life of our country, are taken by the United States. We don't have international relations. Our international matters are handled by Dean Rusk's Department. We don't have a seat at the United Nations. Our seat there is occupied by Mr. Arthur Goldberg.

And the saddest and most enraging truth about Puerto Rico is that the United States holds also the right to our lives. They tell us when to die and whom to kill. They use 13% of the workable land in Puerto Rico for military purposes. They maintain nine important military bases — including several atomic bases — in our territory. And finally, in the most cynical manner, they expect us, the Puerto Rican youth, to fight in the armed forces of our enemy against people who, like us, are struggling for their inde-

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SPRING TERM '67-- and the war

PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL PROGRAM ON DOMESTIC ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR TO BE CARRIED OUT DURING THE SPRING TERM 1967

Sarah Murphy
New York City

Introduction: At its December 11, 1966 meeting the New York Regional Council of SDS voted to submit the following proposal to the national organization. Since that time it has become apparent that there will be no national student strike against the war. This combined with the tax increase and cut-backs in domestic programs for the poor announced in the Johnson State of the Union Message makes the proposed program all the more relevant.

Background: Members of the New York region felt that it was important for SDS to initiate a national program in its own name in order to regain some of our lost leadership in the peace area, and in order to give our chapters a central focus around which to organize.

It was further thought that such a program should concentrate on the domestic effects of the war in general, and on its economic effects in particular. A program was desired which would combine target dates for national protest with a term long educational program as well as offer an opportunity to stress the "multi-issue" aspect of our protest of the war. Since many organizations concerned with poverty, wages, health care, and education will be going on the defensive in the coming months, it was felt that a program stressing the economic aspects of the war would allow us to add a radical perspective to a growing mood of protest in the country.

The Proposal:

1) Starting at once the national organization, chapters and REP should:

do research
publish papers
conduct forums
distribute leaflets
organize rallies, marches and mass meetings
organize in the community
etc., etc., etc.

This activity would center on the following issues:

Who profits from the war?
How does the war relate to inflation?
How does inflation affect the buying power of the poor and the working class.
How does the war affect the ghetto — who dies in the war? How has the war caused a loss of housing, health and educational facilities at home and in Vietnam?

How does the war affect national priorities?
A) Who sets the goals
B) Are they in the national interest not that of corporate wealth
C) The effect of the war economy on the national economy.

What are the effects of the draft? — Who is on the local board?

What interests in the community do they represent?

2) Two dates present themselves as times for national protest activity. These are the times when the supplemental appropriation for the war will be passed by Congress in February, and when the whole federal budget will be passed in April. The April date in particular will be an occasion of considerable lobbying activity in Washington and at the local offices of congressmen so that there will be a national context for whatever action SDS chapters decide on for themselves.

3) The educational program would be kicked off by the February protests and would culminate in the April protest. In the interim we would attempt to document and present to the public and the campus two general themes: first, that it is the poor who are paying in every respect for the war and the corporate interests who are profiting from it; and, second, that the whole of American political life is being pressed to the right as a result of the war. In regard to the second point it should be possible to demonstrate to conventional liberals that they are losing ground as a national political tendency just as the legislative program of the labor movement is being defeated so that it is in their own self interest to move to radical opposition to the war.

The successful implementation of this program through April then puts us in a strong position to join the discussions that should start up around that time regarding national and local political alternatives for the 1968 elections. At that point SDS activity against the war could begin to shift emphasis from education to more direct political activity.

...and in France



no comment

On Equality for Women

(Continued from page 2)

cracy of the factory, the school, the labor union, etc. necessary) cannot allow equality: students might just decide they didn't want to learn business administration; workers might decide they don't want to invest in South Africa, and that we could raise enough sugar here to avoid interference in the Dominican Republic, and that they would rather build hospitals than napalm; and all sorts of people whose identity rests on their being "experts" and "powerful" would find that they would have to completely redefine their lives. Think of all the Generals and lower echelon officers who would be out of a job! and out of an identity if they could no longer give rigid orders to those under them.

Other institutions which operate in unequal, authoritarian manners: Military, social and welfare services, commerce, most churches (and the minister is always an authority figure, whether the church has decision-making vested in the congregation or in a national or international structure).

So what does all this have to do with the role of women in this society? It is clear to any woman who wants personal freedom that she is constantly regarded as an object by men and by society at large, that her role is defined as a submissive one, that her man is "boss", with all the traditional games, analogous to the games that people in all the institutions play with each other to curry favor and avoid confrontation and equality.

I cannot find the institutional necessity, the class necessity, if you will, in women being submissive. It is true that it is to industry's benefit, for women, like Negroes and other minorities, can be paid less for the same work men do, so they are a cheap source of labor. It keeps the unemployment rate down, since most women are automatically excluded from the continuous job market by their sex (the complicity of the mass media in this can be seen by looking at women's magazines during WWII and just after: women were depicted as strong, self-sufficient, workers during the war, when so many men were in the armed services. Then when the boys came home and needed jobs, fashions became frilly, women were depicted as soft, feminine creatures, interested only in the welfare of their man, and compensated for their loss of freedom by an increase in lipstick, perfume, fancy underclothes, etc.)

In the family situation, children are taught, by example, submission and domination as "natural" patterns of behavior, which the institutions they enter at an early age reinforce. And maybe, with men spending 8 hours a day taking shit from his foreman, he needs someone to be boss to, to prove his manhood. And the woman then proves her humanity by bossing her kids, and the cycle continues.

It seems logical that, in a society where all the institutions are based on inequality and un-freedom, and where most people spend large parts of their lives involved in these institutions, that the de-humanized patterns of behavior they adopt there would carry over into their personal life.

So what do women who want to be free do? The same thing that anyone who wants to be free, in this unfree society, does:

1) Find a few freed people and form a community; forget the outside.

2) Quit being so idealistic and either become a career woman, doing all the hard things necessary to make it, or become a housewife, active in the League of Women Voters. Women for Peace. PTA. etc.

3) Begin working for a society in which the institutions are not based on authority, but on equality, demanding equality within the organization one is in, refusing to be intimidated by the male chauvinism which does exist, even within the movement. It is important that we find new ways of reaching democratic decisions, cause there are few people who can enter, as whole people, into most meetings. Methods to break down role-bound relationships, set up new forms to enter into dialogue. It is not necessary that one enter into every decision for decisions to be made democratically; the important thing is that all levels of institutions, and the people there, be accessible, that barriers of fear, of intimidation, of status, authority, be removed so that if a person wants, he can.

NATIONAL OFFICE EXPENSES

July, 1966 thru November, 1966

	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	TOTALS
Salary	\$1,265.00	\$1,245.00	\$ 545.00	\$1,740.00	\$ 538.42	\$ 5,333.42
*Utilities	584.89	101.62	407.36	477.68	480.00	2,051.55
Off. Suppl.	30.85	38.85	114.49	47.74	10.00	241.93
Postage	179.66	224.43	312.05	368.37	280.80	1,365.31
Printing	1,088.50	1,572.92	3,024.42	374.21	1,467.81	7,527.86
Publicity	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Travel	-----	500.50	40.00	234.57	127.00	902.07
Confers.	-----	-----	5,865.70	-----	-----	5,865.70
Petty Cash	-----	-----	-----	25.00	10.00	35.00
Miscel.	-----	-----	-----	10.00	218.33	228.33
Legal	-----	15.00	-----	-----	-----	15.00
Equipmt.	28.49	-----	150.98	125.00	-----	304.47
Debts	94.35	49.57	-----	500.00	2.00	645.92
TOTALS	\$3,271.74	\$3,747.89	\$10,460.00	\$3,902.57	\$3,134.36	\$24,516.56*

* Utilities: rent, lighting, phone

NATIONAL OFFICE INCOME: July, 1966 thru November, 1966

	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	TOTALS
Dues	\$ 222.00	\$ 215.00	\$ 601.00	\$1,306.55	\$ 696.00	\$ 3,040.00
Literature	263.12	128.15	230.15	266.76	269.68	1,157.86
Contrib.	1,626.60	1,789.48	3,314.50	1,963.10	1,116.65	9,810.33
Pledges	85.10	14.00	233.00	25.00	139.48	496.58
Confer.	-----	1,165.00	5,421.89	69.00	53.00	6,708.89
Sales	241.00	272.40	123.00	31.00	-----	667.40
Miscel.	625.75	-----	57.00	179.00	171.54	1,033.29
Subscr.	100.00	96.00	278.50	558.00	366.75	1,399.25
NLN ads	100.00	-----	10.00	150.00	-----	260.00
TOTALS	\$3,263.57	\$3,680.03	\$10,269.04	\$4,548.41	\$2,813.10	\$24,573.60

WAR
CRIMES
TRIBUNAL
PETITION--Circulated by the BERTRAND RUSSELL
PEACE FOUNDATION

Support the tribunal by signing and circulating the following petition:

"WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL INITIATED BY BERTRAND RUSSELL. WE FEEL A SOLEMN OBLIGATION TO EXPOSE WAR CRIMES AND TO INDICT THOSE WHO PERPETRATE THEM. WE BELIEVE THAT U.S. ACTIONS IN VIETNAM MUST BE EXAMINED EXHAUSTIVELY AND THE FINDINGS MADE KNOWN TO WORLD OPINION."

Copies are available from the Foundation office.

LITERATURE LIST

General SDS Items

- () SDS Constitution (free)
- () Basic Brochure (free)
- () Chapter Organizer's Handbook/Jack Kitteredge (15¢)
- () Trapped in a System/ Carl Oglesby (10¢)
- () Port Huron Statement (50¢)
- () SDS Bulletin-May '65 (10¢)
- () SDS SNCC Resolution (free)
- () Democracy is Nothing if Not Dangerous/ Carl Oglesby (free)

Domestic Issues

- () High School Reform: Towards a Student Movement/ Mark Klieman (10¢)
- () What is JOIN? (free)
- () The Bruns Strike - A Case of Student Participation in Labor/ Clark Kissenger (10¢)
- () Eastern Kentucky in Perspective/ Mike Zweig (10¢)
- () Of, By, and For the Poor: The New Generation of Student Organizers/ Andrew Kopkind (10¢)
- () Notes on the Welfare State/ Bob Ross (10¢)
- () Prospectus for Organizing Project in Boston Suburbs (free)
- () Boston PREP- A Summer Report (10¢)
- () America and the New Era/ (25¢)
- () The Care and Feeding of Power Structures/ Jack Minnis (10¢)
- () Huelga - The Story of the Delano Grape Strike (10¢)
- () Huelga Information Pak (free)
- () Eastern Kentucky - A Draft Program/ Bob Heifitz (10¢)

The Draft

- () Guide to Conscientious Objection/ Paul Lauter (10¢)
- () Information Kit on Conscientious Objection (free)
- () Freedom Draft Cards (free)
- () SDS Draft Resolution (free)

Foreign Policy

- () Roots of the Dominican Crisis/ Theodore Draper (25¢)
- () Information on the Involvement of US Corporations in South Africa/ Todd Gitlan (10¢)
- () USA vs. Henry David Mitchell (10¢)
- () Viet Reports (monthly bulletin) - Vol. 1 #1-4; Vol. 2 #1-4 (10¢ each) (circle issues wanted)

- () Vietnam and the Unions/ Lee Webb (10¢)
- () Counter-Insurgency and the New Foreign Relations/ Roger Hagen (10¢)
- () Working Papers-Summer '65/ Paul Booth (10¢)
- () American Atrocities in Vietnam/ Eric Norden (25¢)
- () South African Crisis and United States Policy/ Gonze, Houser, Sturges (\$1.00)
- () Africa Today (\$1.00)
- () Nat'l. Vietnam Exam. (5¢)
- () A Green Beret Blasts the War/ Donald Duncan (25¢)

Other

- () REP Study Guide #1: Power in American Society/ Jim Jacobs (10¢)
- () REP Study Guide #2: The New Left/ Hal Benenson (10¢)
- () REP Study Guide #3: Marxism-An Introduction/ Michael Goldfield (10¢)
- () Macbird/ Barbara Garson (\$1.00) (Pre-paid orders only)

Stickers

- () Uncle Sam Needs Cannon Fodder (25¢)
- () Agitprop Stickers:

THOSE WHO TAKE THE MEAT FROM THE TABLE

Teach contentment.
Those for whom the taxes are destined
Demand sacrifice.
Those who eat their fill speak to the hungry
Of wonderful times to come.
Those who lead the country into the abyss
Call ruling too difficult
For ordinary men.

-- Bertolt Brecht

-sds-

(1¢ each, bulk orders only)

Posters

- () Univ. of Chicago Sit-In (free)
- () End the War in Vietnam (free)
- () Giant JOIN Poster (50¢)
- () This is the Enemy (free)

Note: 50% Discount to Chapter orders;
50% Discount on bulk orders.

PUERTO RICO

(Continued from page 6)

pence and national liberation, such as the Vietnamese people.

But this time the U. S. imperialists have gone too far. The drafting of Puerto Ricans and the war in Viet Nam have set the spark for a nationwide rebellion of the Puerto Rican youth. Over 20 Puerto Ricans have legal cases pending for refusing to be drafted -- including the young worker who set the way and who has remained the symbol of straight forward opposition to the draft and the war in Viet Nam: Sixto Alvelo -- and another thousand youths have signed a public declaration refusing to be drafted, *under any circumstances*, and expressing their support to the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam.

That is the truth about Puerto Rico. The press agencies and the government officials won't tell you that. They will say that the bases in Puerto Rico and the drafting of Puerto Ricans have the purpose of defending us. Defending us against whom? *We don't want to be defended by the United States; we want to be defended from the United States!*

Anyway, the press agencies and the government officials didn't tell the truth, either, about Cuba, or Viet Nam, or the Dominican Republic, or Indonesia. They don't even tell you the truth about what you see every day with your own eyes in this country.

I have intentionally avoided to speak on the particular subject of this Conference: the advisability or the tactics of a national student action in the spring. Puerto Rico is not a

part of the United States nation, we are a foreign country, and, therefore, we feel that we must not intervene with your decisions on that subject. But we came here in a spirit of international solidarity. We understand that our struggle is no different from that of the Vietnamese people or the Afro American people. Our enemy is the same: imperialism -- and the economic structure for which it exists. Our aims are the same: to rebuild the structure of society, so that a new man -- a liberated man -- can rise from a new world -- a liberated world.

It is very important for us to understand the likeness of our struggles. Our possibilities of success lie on the combined effort of all the oppressed people in the world. A leader of the Afro American movement, who went to Puerto Rico a couple of years ago, told us a very meaningful fable:

There are sardines from Morocco; there are sardines from Portugal; there are sardines from Spain. And each sardine thinks she is different from the other . . . Until the shark appears. Then, they all remember they are sardines.

Because of this understanding of the need for international solidarity, I can assure you now the full support and complete mobilization of the Puerto Rican students for any unified effort against the draft, and the reason for it: the war; against the war, and the reason for it: imperialism; against imperialism and the reason for it: the rotten social structure of the capitalist countries.

And in the same spirit of international solidarity, I request your support to our struggle to obtain Independence.

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill. 60612
Return Requested

Second-Class postage rates paid in Chicago, Illinois. Entered at Chicago and other points.

S.S.S. Bibliography

(Continued from page 5)

Review of the Administration and Operation of the Selective Service System. Hearings before the House Committee on the Armed Services.

U. S. Department of Commerce List of Currently Essential Activities (and) U. S. Department of Labor List of Currently Critical Occupations. Available from: Executive Secretary, Interagency Advisory Committee on Essential Activities and Critical Occupations, Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Employer's Inventory of Critical Manpower, published by the Engineering Manpower Commission and the Scientific Manpower Commission. Available for \$3.00 from the latter at 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington, D. C., 20418.

Scientific, Engineering, Technical Manpower Comments: A monthly news summary of current developments affecting the recruitment, training, and utilization of scientific, engineering, and technical manpower. Published by the Scientific Manpower Commission. \$6.00 a year.

Scientific and Engineering Manpower - An Organizational Directory, published in 1965 by the Scientific Manpower Commission. \$4.00. Annual Supplements, \$2.00. Includes address and phone, staff contact, data and purpose of organization, membership, manpower activities, and publications of 56 government and non-government organizations having direct concern for analyzing, collecting, publishing or distributing information on technical manpower.

A. A. Blum, "Work or Fight; the Use of the Draft as a Manpower Sanction During the Second World War," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, April, 1963.

Trytten, M. H. *Student Deferment in Selective Service: A Vital Factor in National Security*, 1952. University of Minnesota.

Minutes

(Continued from page 3)

VII. Dates of spring National Council meeting: It was decided that a ballot containing alternative dates for the NC would be mailed to the chapter contacts. The alternative dates are:

1. March 24-26 (Easter vacation)
2. March 31-April 2 (Spring vacation)
3. April 16 & 17 (Days after the April Mobilization -- many SDS kids will be in the East)
4. April 23-25 (Weekend after the mobilization)

VIII. Staff -- Gary Goff was hired as membership secretary.

IX. Literature priorities (if we have the money to print. REP is to be consulted about helping to pay for costs):

1. America and the New Era -- almost ready to print.

2. Chapter Organizer's Handbook, incl. statements on SNCC, draft resistance, and Constitution.
3. Movement Fundraising Guide
4. Finding and Making Leaders, von Hoffman
5. Pamphlet on black power to include: Vine City position paper, 2 interviews with Stokeley, article by Anne Braden (see June 24 NLN), and perhaps something on the LCFO (Black Panther Party)
6. Changes in Our Thinking, Egleson (President's Report at Dec. '66 NC (See Jan 6 NLN).
7. How to do a Study of Your Hometown, Lamb.
8. End of Ideology as Ideology, Haber (reprinted from Our Generation, SUPA)

TOP priority when finished -- DRAFT RESISTOR'S MANUAL.